

(575)

ORATION
DELIVERED BEFORE
THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
May 12, 1909,
by
JOHN TREAT IRVING, THE ELDER.

Kilroe

- 1810

Ir 8

Tammaniana
of
Edwin Patrick Kilroe

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EDWIN PATRICK KILROE

COLLECTION OF TAMMANIANA

1810

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N, &c.

BROTHERS,

WE are here assembled to celebrate the anniversary of an institution whose object is a nation's prosperity, and whose supreme ambition a nation's glory.

It is an institution which professes a sincere attachment to the land in which we reside, and a perfect faith in the constitution by which we are governed. On an occasion of this kind, therefore, it is highly useful to consider, whether this land of our nativity or adoption, and the form of government we have chosen, are worthy of the ardent devotion we profess: whether our civil institutions will bear the test of dispassionate investigation, and are established on the strict principles of moral and political justice,---for, unless this can be manifested, our boasted advantages are but dreams and shadows, our patriotism but prejudice and infatuation.

But the necessary brevity of this address will not admit of an ample investigation of this nature---the scanty space of time to which I am limited will only allow me to seize the bold features of the subject and present them to your view.

The love of country is an universal passion, peculiar to 'nd clime. It burns with equal fervour amid polar snows, as on the parching sands of the torrid zone. It is the sheet anchor of the heart which heaven has kindly given to moor each individual to his proper situation,---to counteract that restless love of variety, that insatiable curiosity, that passion for novelty implanted in the human breast, and which otherwise would render mankind mere wanderers on the face of the earth. Where is the being, however seduced from the place of his nativity by the allurements of pleasure, the incitements of curiosity, or the avidity of gain---where is the exile, however driven from the land of his fathers by the high hand of oppression, or the persecutions of an unfeeling world, whose heart does not, many a time and oft, in the hour of sickness, of solitude or sorrow, return with weeping recollection to the scenes of his childhood, where his mind first dawned to the perception

A

Wm. D. Samsony

12-1-13
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of natural and moral beauty---where he sported in the days of innocence, in the lustihood of youth, "when the young blood run frolic through his veins, and all was sunshine!"---Who has relinquished his country without a sigh---who has heard of its oppression without sympathy---of its desolation without a pang?

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said,
This is my own, my native land?"

* * * * *

If such there breathes, go, mark him well,
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish could claim---
Despite those titles, power and pelf
The wretch concentered all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile earth from whence he sprung
Unwept, unhonored and unsung."

If a sentiment so generous and exalted can exist with sufficient force, to bind the Siberian to his icy desert---to people the burning sands of Afric, where nature pants and animation languishes---if it can animate the song of the hardy Swiss, amid the stormy solitudes of his mountains, and can reconcile the minions of the east to the whips and chains of arbitrary power, how much more should it glow within *our* bosoms, on whom heaven has lavishly bestowed its choicest favours. To us has been given "the glory of Lebanon with the excellency of Carmel and Sharon." A country, whose varied and almost boundless surface, combines all that is magnificent and sublime, with all that is luxuriant and beautiful. A country where the rapid developements of art and science, the unparalleled advances of civilization and refinement, are constantly presenting new and captivating scenes to the eye of the curious, or the speculation of the philosophic. A country where independent competence is the sure reward of industry---where labour and enjoyment go hand in hand, and prompt fertility lightens the task of the husbandman.

But great as are the natural endowments of our country, they fade into comparative insignificance in the splendour of our political advantages. We have witnessed the sun of liberty dawning from amidst clouds and darkness, and gradually encreasing and ascending into a

bright and perfect day. After our painful revolutionary struggle, when the tumult and distraction of war had subsided, we found ourselves, possessed indeed of the rights for which we had contended, but those rights vaguely defined and imperfectly regulated.--- The season of war was past ; the season of deliberation commenced ; the states had maintained a faithful union through a tempestuous period, but that union had been preserved by the pressure of outward force, by a common sympathy and interest, and by an enthusiasm which such an occasion only could produce.

But now that the dread of external danger had subsided, the force which threatened having been withdrawn ; now that private ambition had its play, that mutual jealousies were embodying themselves, that a load of foreign debt pressed upon the nation and its component parts hung disjointed, ready to be severed by every rising faction ; now was the crisis when a people were to sacrifice secret views and selfish considerations on the altar of public good ; now, rising superior to local interests, in their own sovereignty were they to establish a government for the whole, determine how their magistrates should be chosen, define their duties, and lastly enact laws to which themselves would become obedient.

Surrounding nations with surprise beheld an infant people just emerged from the chaos and irritations of war, proceeding with deliberative coolness, to investigate the defects of its municipal institutions. But that surprise was changed into admiration when they beheld this people relinquish at once an imperfect system, and without a struggle build on the ruins of an old establishment, a structure magnificent and sublime, which I trust our children for ages shall venerate.

This constitution, my friends, is your own intellectual offspring. By it you have secured to yourselves, and probably to millions unborn, the possession of every rational privilege, the enjoyment of every estimable right. It is a code not produced by the strong arm of power, or accompanied by a sanguinary revolution, but the collective wisdom of a nation gathered in time of peace, its merits first carefully discussed and then sanctioned by the unimpassioned approbation of the people.

This makes every man's domicile his sanctuary, not to be invaded without his assent, nor taken from him for public purposes without an adequate compensation.

This ensures to him the freedom of speech and of the press, and a trial by his peers for every infraction of the law.

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This at one blast sweeps away the hopes of aristocratic distinction ; establishes sovereignty alone in the people, and makes all authority emanate from them.

This forms the criterion of law, the barrier to usurpation, the rallying point in the hour of peril, the very pivot of our union.

We have improved by the experience of other systems---we have selected their excellencies, and as carefully avoided their defects. Where, I would ask, have ancient or modern days presented a purer model ? What government has evinced a due attention to some particular right of individuals, that has not balanced it by some particular oppression ?

One shall exult in the freedom of its constitution, the dignity and integrity of its parliament ; when that parliament is the monopolized representation of rotten boroughs, composed of a few scattered inhabitants, while whole cities and districts, with the thousands they contain, have no share in the public councils.

Its historians and poets shall boast of its elective franchise, when that franchise is a mere vendible article, continually in the market, almost exposed to sale by the candle, and struck off to the highest bidder.

Another shall be inflated with the splendour of its military establishment, while that establishment has trampled upon its freedom, preyed upon the necessities of its poor, given its youth to the sword, and reared an iron usurpation which controuls the destinies of Europe.

A third shall present a long line of nobility, anxiously preserved from plebeian intercourse. and pronounced the substance of its strength and glory ; as if that merit which had achieved honours to the primæval ancestor, was a corporeal principle, could be the subject of entailment, and was only to be destroyed by a corruption of blood---No ! by the Almighty fiat, we start upon existence on terms of perfect equality ; and he only outstrips his fellows, and becomes ennobled in the eye of heaven, who is distinguished for his usefulness, and pre-eminent for his virtues.

Experience has repeatedly proved that worth and talents are not attached to any particular line of ancestry---that the wealth and honours of a meritorious individual are often squandered and disgraced by the profligacy of his descendants---that he who estimates his value by the lustre and antiquity of his pedigree, has generally no other standard. The revolution of France has swept to oblivion a croud who swarmed

in the courts of Versailles, and who existed but as the trappings and paraphernalia of royalty.

Aware of the many evils that proceed from titled establishments ; convinced that they were excrescences clinging to the body politic, and drawing off that nourishment which should be disseminated through its branches, the constitution of these states has not only abolished such distinctions, but disqualified their possessors from holding any station of public confidence or trust. We are placed upon the same level, and though respect is paid to official dignity, it is more the reverence of a civilized people to the magisterial office of their own creation, than a deference to the individual who is chosen as its transient occupant. Every man by holding the same rank in society is stimulated to the same laudable and virtuous emulation. He beholds the honours of his country open to every competitor, yet attained alone by the most enterprising and meritorious. If we have any order therefore among us, it is the order of merit, an order exciting that ambition which has virtue for its means, and the love and reverence of the worthy for its end.

This equality of interest and feeling---this intellectual ligament which firmly binds citizen to citizen, the constitution has wisely protected from every probable assailment. Not confining its guardianship to temporalities alone, it has evinced the same solicitude for spiritual privileges---has equally secured the rights of conscience, and left the soul to range free in its aspirations.

No error has been more productive of human misery, than that which in most countries has placed its religious, under the controul of its civil institutions. There is no such thing as bending conscience---its texture is not malleable---it cannot be cooled and warmed at pleasure to different degrees of temperature.

The most valuable members of a community are those who are in heart zealously attached, and scrupulously obedient, to their religious tenets. Among those are we to look for patient industry, strict frugality, correctness of morals, and regularity of life. Here are we to search for that honesty ingrafted on religion, which teaches the fulfilment of individual contracts, the preservation of order, the reverence of law, and the sacred allegiance due to our country. The nation that wars against any moral sect, whatever may be its cast, wars against its own prosperity, and saps the foundations of its strength.

It was religious intolerance that drove from Spain a race who had converted her deserts into fruitful plantations, and adorned her cities with the choicest specimens of architecture. Art and industry, with the persecuted Moslems, were almost exiled the Peninsula; the elysian fields of Grenada again became desolate; and the mouldering ruins of the Alhambra are the last perishing mementos of Moorish dignity and grandeur.

It was religious intolerance that presided over the dreadful orgies of saint Bartholomews, that like the destroying angel went forth to massacre without distinction of age or sex, without regard for private worth or public usefulness---that struck to the earth imploring innocence; that coward-like rushed upon the unsuspecting couch of the generous and the brave---that in an instant changed the sweet repose of the weary peasant into the soundless sleep of death. The most meritorious of Gallic population and the flower of Gallic knighthood perished in that night of horrors, and Charles entwined around his sanguinary brows a wreath of eternal infamy.

It was religious intolerance first invited that interference of the imperial Catharine, which afterwards led to the dismemberment and partition of Poland. And what but the same intolerance at this very day bears upon the lofty spirit of Ireland, and has almost broken the heart of her gallant people. The penal statutes systematised in the reign of Anne, through a pretence of religious zeal, have disfranchised the Catholics, excluded them from office, despoiled them of their property, cancelled the nuptial bond, rent asunder the ties of filial affection, exiled a persecuted population from their homes, and obliged them to look for protection to a land of strangers.

Happily for this country, we have closed the door against such a flood of evils. We have made conscience amenable to no other tribunal than Heaven, and left her errors to be judged by him, who alone knows the secret springs of the heart, and can best determine the purity and sincerity of its devotion.

Such, my friends, are the prominent features of our constitution, such the exalted advantages which render it worthy the confidence, the support, the enthusiastic affection of freemen. It blends dignity with equality, administers justice with temperance, but decision, balances power between the confederate parts of our government; and

in a word, establishes that species of commonwealth which Aristotle has defined as constituting the very partnership of freedom.

While it forms the subject of your pride and glory, be yours the watchful study to preserve its purity unstained, its stability unshaken. It is a barrier over which ambition cannot leap, and must therefore be laid prostrate before usurpation can commence. Insidious attempts will be made to undermine your affection for this palladium of your liberties. You will be told of its weakness, of its want of energy, that it may answer in time of tranquillity, but will never bear the rude assaillment of war. Look to silence such insinuations; they are the very soundings of treason; the wily, artful mode, in which she feels her way, before she ventures on the deadly attack.

The energy of a people consists in their warm attachment to their country. Union condenses the popular strength, and enables it, however small, to make an effectual resistance; while disunion saps the fabric of the mighty, and renders it a more certain and extensive ruin.

The small, but firm Amphyctionic confederacy, overthrew the myriads of Persia, and left but a remnant to relate the history of their disasters; while in modern days the gigantic league of European thrones against Gallic domination, through internal jealousy and rivalry were torn and scattered into fragments by the invader.

Do not mistake me; I by no means decry the energy of a vigorous administration; but only assert that the arm of government, unaided by popular attachment, can make but a feeble struggle against a powerful opponent. Its strength consists not in the command it has over the fears, but in the willing subjection in which it holds the heart of the citizen. Where existed a more sovereign potentate than the recent emperor of Germany? Absolute in his dominions, he swayed a territory which extended from the North Sea to the confines of the Adriatic: yet one hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen marched into the very heart of his empire, and from Vienna dictated a peace to twenty-six millions of people.

The deference of the governed to the presiding authority, will always be proportioned to their virtue and intelligence. Perfection in the members, is necessary to perfection in the head. The citizen must be well acquainted with his rights, justly to appreciate them; he must know the relative situation in which he is placed fully to feel the importance and obligation of his duties; light must be poured into the darkened intellect before it can become a fit temple for the residence

of freedom. Whatever, therefore, tends to corrupt the morals of a virtuous government ; and whatever impedes the progress of correct information, as certainly promotes the cause of despotism.

As yet we have no reason to arraign the habits or intelligence of our nation. We are in the vigour of political youth. The legislatures of the different states have patronized science, liberally provided seminaries for our youth, and are diffusing information through all branches of society. The industry of our citizens has become proverbial, no impediments can stay, no dangers retard their enterprise. The hardy woodman, turning his back on a life of inglorious ease, penetrates the wildest solitude, opens its shade to the invigorating sunbeam, and softens its rugged features to the lineaments of beauty. Our commercial keeps pace with our agricultural labours : What ocean is unexplored by our seamen---what coast have they not converted into a market ? With the eloquent Burke, we may exclaim, " While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straights, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite regions of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage---a resting place in the progress of their victorious industry ; nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of the Poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil : no sea but what is vexed by their fisheries, no climate but what is witness to their toils."

The only evil we have to apprehend, is that this immense influx of wealth from foreign sources, may gradually detach the cultivators of the soil, from the pursuits of husbandry, and plunge them into foreign speculations. We are an agricultural people, and if anxious to perpetuate our liberties, the cultivation of the soil must be our primary ambition. The mountain Swiss, while devoted to their pastoral labours enjoyed the purest freedom.

As yet our population, widely scattered, and devoted to agricultural employments must center all their pleasures in rural and domestic enjoyments. But when avidity for gain shall have drawn them from their peaceful habitations ; when the cottage, the plough and the farm shall

be exchanged for the luxurious city and the crowded mart. Then will the work of depravity secretly commence ; sedentary and soul-wearying avocations will succeed those healthful exercises which give elasticity to the mind and vigor to the frame. Tumultuous amusements, with no other charm than their novelty, will supplant the tranquilized pleasures of home, and impair that domestic felicity, the aggregate of which forms the sum and substance of national prosperity. Nor will the evil end here. An inordinate thirst for gain will allay the fervor of patriotism ; foreign speculations will produce foreign attachments, and the heart from motives of interest, be induced to indulge sentiments of hostility, at a time when its affections should be most firm and loyal.

These are not vain surmises, nor the dreams of a visionary enthusiast. We have, by a variety of fortuitous circumstances, been recently so placed as to monopolize the commerce of the world. The wealth of Europe for twenty years past has been flowing in upon us in a perennial stream. Our mercantile enterprise has been strained to its utmost bearing, our foreign engagements multiplied, and our immense trading capital been employed in keeping up an indirect, and to us a profitable intercourse between the belligerent nations.

Have we not too much reason to apprehend, that this lucrative employ has in some measure abated those feelings of citizenship, which should play round the heart and animate its warmest pulsations ! When called upon by duty to relinquish this source of wealth, was it yielded without a sigh ? Was it offered up a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of patriotism ?---Why then have the constituted authorities been defied ? Why that system of fraud and smuggling---new and disgraceful in our annals ? Why did a portion of our fellow citizens combine to defeat the salutary purposes of law, and a state legislation fan the unholy flame of opposition ?

Do not consider me as wishing to exterminate this foreign enterprise, for a portion of it is necessary to our national prosperity. I would only advocate such wholesome restraint, as will prevent it from wholly engrossing the public attachment, and thus jeopardising interests of a more weighty and important nature.

At the present crisis, when war is demoralizing and destroying the nations, we should as much as possible neutralise our feelings, and at all events preserve them strictly national. Why should we embark in transatlantic broils ? There is nothing of feeling to impel us, there is

surely nothing of interest to induce us. The contest there, is in no respect a contest of principle. It is the struggle of tyranny against tyranny ; and if we become enlisted, whatever destiny may await those of the eastern hemisphere, to us one thing is certain, that while nothing can be acquired, we place every thing at hazard.

The wars which for twenty years past have agitated the globe, are now merged into one great and decisive conflict between France and Britain. The one wields the sceptre of the land, the other sways the trident of the ocean. So bent are they on destroying each other, and in making every other consideration bend to their individual views, that the rights of allies, friends and neutrals are blended together, and as matters of no importance are equally sacrificed. The law of nations has become a dead letter ; and honour and good faith are blotted from the page of political morality.

France with one hand proffered friendship to Holland, and with the other crippled her trade, conscribed her youth, and left her but the skeleton of a once powerful republic.

Switzerland she pronounced her faithful ally---yet in the hour of unsuspecting confidence, overturned her free institutions, converted her territory into an imperial province, and annihilated that independence which ennobled her character.

Prussia she cajoled into non resistance, while her victorious armies overran the Germanic empire, and then returned to blast the honours of Frederick's descendant on the plains of Jena.

The imperial arm that controuls her destinies is guided by no lilliputian policy. Abject obedience is a law of his empire, not to be evaded or defied. Regardless of minor considerations, and fearless of consequences, he fixes his eye determinedly on one object, and steadily pursues his purpose. He heeds not the outposts of his enemy, but marks where his force is condensed, and pierces the centre of his strength---the heart from which his life streams are diffused. At present, exalted high above the other dignities of Europe, he stands a planet, round which the neighbouring kings like satellites revolve, by him are balanced, and from him receive their lustre. The continent, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean pronounces him its lord. The last struggles of opposition he silenced on the Danube---the house of Hapsbourg his chariot wheels have overthrown---the house of Braganza has fled his approach---the Spanish house of Bourbon he has carried into captivity, and Spain lies wholly at his mercy ! I repeat, wholly at

his mercy---for the present contention there is but a war of skirmishing, speedily to be terminated by an armed host, which shall pour like a torrent through the Pyrenees, and bear massacre and victory to every part of the Peninsula.

Has not Britain also with ceaseless anxiety endeavoured to promote her own views at the expence of her engagements---Has she not evinced the same illiberal policy, yet prosecuted on a more ignoble scale? When the Archduke struggled for Germany; when Prussia was at her last gasp before Berlin; when Alexander vainly essayed to stem the mighty torrent at Friedland---where had England concentrated her force---where was she vigorously aiding the confederate cause---where was her lion springing upon the foe?---She was engaged far off in prosecuting a trading expedition into Calabria---or for her private use was capturing sugar islands in the West-Indies---or unfurling her banners in South America, with the vain hope of securing by conquest a mart for her commodities. When the gallant Swede was dying in the last ditch at Stralsund, she had spread her canvass and fled the bloody engagement. When Spain strove for existence between Madrid and the Pyrenees, her army either laid quiet in Portugal, or pursued a skulking march, hugging the Atlantic sea board, and avoiding the very sight of an enemy. Even her last expedition, at an almost incredible sacrifice has achieved but a temporary burial place for her soldiers, and only augmented that ignoble fame, which had been already blazoned by the flames of Denmark, and re-echoed by the groans of its defenceless inhabitants!

No my friends! Honesty and good faith among nations, according to the practice of modern days, is a political farce---an ignis fatuus---bright only in the distance---a bubble, assuming shape and texture, but empty and evanescent in the grasp.

You have none but enemies abroad---form therefore no calculations---repose no confidence---trust to no assurances---rely only on yourselves, and adhere firmly to your union. It is your best fortress, your sure, rock of defence; when the rains beat and the floods descend, this alone shall brave the elemental war, and withstand the collected fury of the tempest.

Heed not the groundless assertion so often reiterated, that the undivided prosperity of these states is not a common object; that the eastern and southern sections have discordant interests, and that a line of demarkation must eventually be drawn between them. Our com-

mercial and Agricultural concerns are intimately blended, and the prosperity of each depends upon the strength and stability of the government. Destroy the constitution and you not only stop the prosperous current of trade, but you annihilate the very fountain which enables it to flow. Should such a fatal event ever happen, we bid a long farewell to our greatness---our sun would rapidly descend from his meridian splendor, and clouds and darkness envelope his departing beams. Beyond this period we have nothing to look for but secret distrust, bitter jealousy, open rivalry, and civil war. Our interests severed---from a state of cordial amity we should rapidly pass to the opposite extreme. Contiguity of situation would invite revenge for real or fancied wrongs. Those feelings of citizenship and fond attachment, which now mantle in our bosoms, would be lost in the maze of military contention. The land of our fathers, emancipated by their bravery, and enriched by their toils, would be steeped with the fratricidal blood of their children: morality would fly the unhallowed abode of licentiousness---depravity welcome the scene of congenial horrors, and despotism establish her throne on the ruins of the constitution. The evils attendant on a dissolution of our government, the heart may feel, but the tongue never can adequately describe. Indiscriminate massacre---the despoiling of innocence---the sacking of towns, the conflagration of cities, are evils which may be possibly imagined, but never can be delineated. Strip us of union, and like Sampson we stand shorn of our strength---the Philistines shall come upon us, and our last struggles, like his, shall be the frenzied struggles of despair.

The power of the Grecian states when consolidated, became a thunderbolt in war. Marathon, Salamis and Platæa witnessed the triumph of civic union. When the same states forgot their dependence, and dissolved their confederacy, the wily Philip, by artful management, engaged them in repeated animosities, and Demosthenian eloquence could not defeat his artifices.

Short is the period since the land in which we reside was the seat of oppression---blasted by the very power which should have overspread it with the mantle of protection, and desolated by the sword which should have gleamed only in its defence. The people rose fired with indignation---but they rose as one man---moved by one cause---united by one sentiment, and fixed by one determination. They nobly dared and nobly triumphed, for adversity instead of dividing only cemented their union. Let it not be said that a ten years struggle has purchased for

us but a transient prosperity---that our revolutionary heroes have perished, and that the fruits of their labours, their exalted hopes have perished and are buried with them. The eyes of the nations are upon us anxiously watching our movements and nicely balancing our councils.

The advocates of regal and aristocratic institutions decry the materials of our commonwealth, pronounce it a system of visionary experiment and confidently predict its downfall.

The friends of human liberty behold us with fond solicitude not un-mixed with fearful apprehension. They trust to our intelligence but they fear our increasing luxury and wealth.

The persecuted of every clime cast a wishful eye to this land of promise, and hail it as the only terrestrial haven of rest to life's weary and oppressed sojourner. Liberty, exiled every other lodgement, has made this her last abiding place, and can only be driven away by the perfidy of those over whom she now extends her fostering pinions.

Oh give not cause of exultation to your enemies, that your situation is precarious; let not your friends have reason to tremble for your safety. Remember the claims of posterity rest upon you; that as your fathers have laboured for you, so you are to live and labour for your children. That you are but trustees of the rights you possess, while the inheritance is theirs. Remember, that "the unity of government which constitutes you one people, is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence---the support of your tranquillity at home, of your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you now so highly prize."

Remember-----but what can I add! The brief, but full summary I have last uttered, is not the estimate of that youth and inexperience which now addresses you---it is the well digested wisdom of one, who never slept over your interests---whose life wore away in your service---who watched your infancy with paternal solicitude, and carefully matured your strength---It forms a part of that affectionate farewell he bade you, when, if ambition ever swayed a mind like his, its course was completely run---when he was relinquishing the pride and dignity of office, for the peaceful and private seclusions of domestic life. It is the disinterested counsel of a man who staked his fortune---his life---his all, upon your revolution: who served you faithfully in field and cabinet, and who required no other recompence than the approbation of his own heart, and the esteem of his countrymen.

It is the deliberate reasoning of a mind strengthened by study, and matured by experience. It is the overflowings of a heart that lingered in its parting moments---that hesitated to leave you, and in its last embraces mingled paternal council and tenderness together.

Though cold in his grave, his parting voice yet addresses you ! Not with that martial eloquence which once animated you for battle ; but with the tremulous fervour of age, the faltering accents of deep and unchangeable affection. It conjures you by every thing estimable---by every thing sacred---by your love for him---your regard for yourselves---your affection for your offspring---to cling inseparably to your union, "to cherish for it a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment." As you revere his character---as you have entombed him in your hearts---I charge you take warning by his admonitions. Pursue firmly, and without deviation, the path he has pointed out ; it is the only one fortified by national security---it is the only one that leads to national glory.

BROTHERS,

The patriotic feelings which the celebration of this anniversary has ever excited, should particularly animate our present festival.

In the lapse of a few weeks we have beheld this eastern part of the union aroused from a state of temporary delusion, rallying with renewed and increased confidence round the constituted authorities, and returning with renovated strength to its first, its only permanent attachment. The repinings of discontent, the murmurs of disaffection, the factious though obscure threats of disunion which had been craftily engendered by designing men, are now no longer heard. Like summer clouds, they overshadowed us for a moment, and then passed away, lost in the bright, the glorious sunshine that has succeeded.

Republicanism flows from New-Hampshire to Georgia, in one broad, deep and irresistible stream. Vain are all attempts to destroy its strength, divert its course, or arrest the progress of its current. Stay but its tide for an instant, and it collects its countless waves, and bears down the feeble barriers that oppose its progress. As well might you attempt to restrain Ontario at his outlet, or check Niagara in his thundering torrent.

BROTHERS,

It is your pride and honour, that in every national vicissitude you have been unwavering in your adherence to our republican institu-

tions. You have preserved the pure flame of liberty like a sacred fire within your walls. Persevere in this exalted conduct---watch, incessantly watch, with a patriotism that never droops---with a vigilance that never slumbers, over the welfare of your country. Let the bands of brotherly affection ever entwine your hearts, and keep bright and unimpaired your chain of union.

In the present address you have the warm feelings and sentiments of my heart. May the advice of youth be matured by your more weighty judgment; and while life shall spare you, may each returning anniversary find you in your rights, your fortunes, and domestic comforts, living testimonials of the prosperity and the freedom of your country.

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